

The American Observer

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

VOLUME V, NUMBER 19

WASHINGTON, D. C.

JANUARY 20, 1936

Lehman Opens War on New York Crime

Campaign Provides for All Aspects of Problem—from Prevention Through Cure

60-POINT PROGRAM ASKED

Seen as Beginning Which Other States Will Watch in Dealing with Their Own Problem of Lawlessness

Americans are so often reminded of the crime record of their country that many of them become weary, while others bow their heads in shame at the thought of such extensive criminality. Occasionally a dramatic incident arises which causes a wave of public indignation and a demand for renewed efforts to stamp out crime. But these surges of outrage are generally temporary flurries, and the people once more slump back into their state of apathy or disgust. It is a recognized fact that crime is one of the most pressing national problems and that if something is not done effectively to wipe it out, many of the foundations of our political and economic society will be seriously threatened.

A National Problem

We are not interested here in relating the extent of crime in the United States. Whether we are in the midst of a crime wave or not matters little; the important thing to remember is that crime is more prevalent in this nation than almost anywhere else in the world. We know, for example, that 10 people out of every 100,000 meet their death by crime; that the American homicide rate is 20 times that of the British, more than twice that of Greece, Austria, Germany, Switzerland, France, Norway, Sweden, Spain, and the Netherlands. American business pays an annual toll of millions of dollars to racketeers of one kind or another. The statistical record—which might be extended for pages and pages—is devastating evidence of the extent of crime in the United States.

What we are interested in is the way by which this crime picture may be changed. And that, unfortunately, is no easy road to discover or to follow once it is discovered. Essentially, crime is a problem with which the states must deal. Today there is much talk about the national government's encroaching upon the rights of the states. There need be no such talk in the case of crime elimination, for, although the federal government has stepped in in certain instances to stamp out crime—notably in the case of kidnapping—the chief responsibility has been and will remain with the various states themselves. Thus if crime is a national blot, it is largely because of the failure of the states to cope with its evils.

Many of the states have recognized their responsibility and are trying to adopt programs to deal with crime. Conferences and investigations have been held, and legislation designed to improve conditions has been introduced or adopted. The most recent step in this direction has been taken by Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York, who, a few days ago, sent a 60,000-word message to the state legislature recommending action on a broad front. Governor Lehman's action was taken after a thorough investigation of crime in New York state and after careful study of recommendations made by experts in the field

(Concluded on page 8)



ENGLAND—THE INN
From the jacket design of "At the Sign of the Lame Dog," by R. H. Mottram (Houghton-Mifflin).

Poise and Mastery

The man or the woman who has achieved poise and balance in everyday living is on the road to mastery and happiness. But this is a quality which few possess to the extent which is desirable. In the face of a particular irritation most of us lose our balance and act as if the irritation were something of great concern to us. That is what happens to the auto driver who becomes angry in traffic, who swears and shakes his fist if someone cuts in too close in front of him or if another driver fails to make room for him. As a matter of fact, an incident of that kind is of little moment. Perhaps it will make a few seconds' difference in the time in which he will reach his destination. That is all. Each day is filled with trifling disappointments, and one who treats these trifles as if they were momentous incidents will fail to find happiness or satisfaction.

We have spoken of incidents which cause anger to the unpoised. There are many other occurrences which cause worry rather than anger. Many people go through life anxious and troubled about matters which are of no more than momentary concern. Whenever anyone finds himself upset, or disturbed or worried, it would be a good thing if he should ask himself this question: "What about this thing which is bothering me; is it something which is likely to affect me for a long period of time? Will it affect my situation a week from today or a year from today? Or, on the contrary, is it merely something which annoys me now, but which will not stand in the way of my permanent success or of my real achievements?" It is important that each person should ask himself these questions, for if he gets in the habit of fretting about little things he will be fretting all the time. An attitude of constant irritation will ruin one's life. That is why it is so very important to treat trifles as such and to keep the attention riveted on things that really count.

We do not mean to say that everything about which one may feel concerned is a trifle. Now and then there is an occasion for genuine concern. Now and then one has to make a decision which may affect his entire life or the lives of others. He must give due weight to a situation of that kind. He must give it all the thought and attention of which he is capable in order that, if possible, a wise decision may be made. But problems of that kind do not come often. They are, as a matter of fact, very infrequent, and happy is the person who recognizes such situations when they occur and who, on the other hand, is able to distinguish between them and the little things which cause nearly all of our irritations and most of our hasty and regrettable acts.

England Has Number of Distressed Areas

Decline of Certain Basic Industries Produces Hardship and Unemployment

OTHER REGIONS PROSPEROUS

Take up Large Part of Unemployment Slack. Satisfactory Adjustment in Next Decade Is Seen

Hard as it may be to understand the conditions of life in other countries, we cannot escape the obligation to find out as much as we can, and real assistance has come within the last few years to those who are looking for a realistic picture of England as it is today. Several writers have described England, her people and her problems, fully and painstakingly. Quite lately the English journalist, Sir Philip Gibbs, has written the book, "England Speaks," from which we quoted in THE AMERICAN OBSERVER last week. Not many months ago, J. B. Priestley, English novelist and lecturer, well known in America, traveled about over England for weeks and then gave the public his impressions in a book which he called "English Journey." A while before that, a distinguished German author and journalist, Paul Cohen-Portheim, had analyzed England and her people in a little book, "England: The Unknown Isle," and an American newspaper correspondent, Harold E. Scarborough, had written "England Muddles Through," an interpretation of English people, their customs, their politics, and the problems of their economic life. By following such writings as these, together with newspaper and magazine discussions of current developments, we may be able to see in broad outline a picture of contemporary England.

Limited Recovery

There is no question but that the English have experienced a decided recovery during the last four years. It began earlier than ours and has gone farther. The English have practically got back to the normal economic life, if we consider normal conditions to be those which have prevailed during the period which followed the World War. The English have not been prosperous at any time since the war, not even during the 1920's when there was such a decided business boom in the United States. At the present time, there are probably 2,000,000 unemployed in England. Of these, perhaps a million are unemployable. The other million are able and willing to work but do not have jobs. England's population is about a third that of the United States. Her employment situation is about as ours would be, therefore, if we had 6,000,000 unemployed, of whom 3,000,000 were willing and able to work. The unemployment situation is approximately twice as bad in the United States as in England, since there is little doubt that we have over 6,000,000 employables out of jobs in this country, in addition to those who are unable to work because of age or disability.

We do not, however, get a complete picture of the English industrial situation by studying the total figures of trade volume or employment. The fact is that certain English industries are still flat on their backs, while others are doing a rushing business. In order to see the significance of this spotted development, we must go back into English history for a number of years to see how things have gone.



—Courtesy Manchester Guardian
ENGLISH TOWN

Before the industrial revolution, England was a very beautiful island, largely rural, with many cities, of course, but with the principal wealth in the country, and with the upper classes of the population living on the rural estates. The lower classes were not well off; that is, they had scant comfort. But they were secure, and there was perhaps as high an average of happiness as prevailed anywhere in the world at the time.

Progress and Poverty

When the industrial revolution came, large sections of the country, principally in the north, were turned into factory and mining districts. All this happened without any centralized planning. Factories were established wherever they would pay, and around them developed slum conditions of life. The factory and mining towns were ugly and smoke begrimed, with the inhabitants living in miserable hovels. Mr. Priestley speaks of the "cynically devastated countryside, sooty, dismal little towns, and still sotter fortress-like cities." This industrialization, he says, "had found a green and pleasant land and had left a wilderness of dirty bricks. It had blackened fields, poisoned rivers, ravaged the earth, and sown filth and ugliness with a lavish hand." He goes on to say, "You cannot make omelettes without breaking eggs, and you cannot become rich by selling the world your coal and iron and cotton goods and chemicals without some dirt and disorder. So much is admitted. But there are far too many eggshells and too few omelettes about this nineteenth-century England. What you see looks like a debauchery of cynical greed."

This defacing of the countryside went on hand in hand with an industrial development which made many people rich and comfortable and which gave England as a nation top rank in the world of industry and power. The industries which had made this great development, this development which was partly progressive and partly debauching in its effects, were coal, iron, and steel, machinery, cotton, shipping, and shipbuilding.

Failing Industries

Now these very industries that have made England rich and many of her people poor and miserable are playing out. Just as the American producers of raw cotton are losing their grip on the markets of the world, so are the English producers of manufactured cotton goods losing their hold upon world markets. That is why Lancashire, long the greatest textile center in all

the world, is the city of poverty and unemployment today, with her great mills closed or running at part time and with thousands out of work. In the coal mines alone, the number of persons employed fell off by 572,000 during the decade from 1923 to 1933. We cannot at this time go into all the causes for the decline of England's export trade in coal and cotton goods and machinery. We can say merely that it was largely a matter of world competition, with Germany and the United States playing a part in the discomfiture of the English. As British foreign trade fell away (and it should be said here that the foreign trade of every other nation has also fallen off), her shipping and shipbuilding declined, and with it came depression in Liverpool and the other ports.

The depression in these industries is not temporary but permanent. Even though a normal business situation is returning to England these depressed areas are still depressed and they will continue to be. There is no cure for them. This is a serious human situation. Sir Philip Gibbs, writing of the life of the people in these mining districts, speaks of these "rows of little houses, mostly without any gardens," which, he says, "are dominated by enormous slag heaps like monstrous ant hills and the result of antlike toil down below. They are ugly and grim, those villages. There is no touch of beauty here, nor of art. The houses built for these people are just square boxes in which to sleep and eat, with little back yards in which the washing may hang." But that is not all. Sir Philip adds that "men now working on a few shifts a week are haunted by the menace of being paid off and joining the big battalions of the unemployed. Their women live in the constant dread that the men will come home one evening with the news that another pit has been closed forever." Such is the situation in a large section of England. There are whole regions which are known as the "Distressed Areas."

A Brighter Side

But when we consider England as a whole the picture has a brighter side. While the coal, iron, steel, machinery, cotton, shipping, and shipbuilding industries are on the decline, and while the regions which grew around those industries as a result of the industrial revolution are undergoing a crisis, other industries which are developing in other parts of England, principally in the south, east, and midlands, are making unprecedented gains and are taking up the slack in employment. These new, or newly expanding, industries are those connected with the manufacture of motor cars, radio sets, phonographs, artificial silk, and electrical apparatus. Mr. Hugh Molson, a member of Parliament, writing in the English magazine, *The Fortnightly*, says that "between 1923 and 1933 the expanding industries provided additional employment for a number equal to all those displaced by labor-saving devices and those displaced by the decline in other industries and in addition for 500,000 of the increase in the

population." This British commentator goes on to say hopefully that "if the British industries followed that remarkable expansion during 10 years of unrelieved depression followed by crisis, may we not reasonably anticipate a similar and much greater expansion during the next 10 years?" He feels that there is a permanent problem of taking care of the distressed or depressed areas and that there will be a considerable amount of unemployment throughout the nation for a few years. But he is convinced that in time all the employables in England will find work.

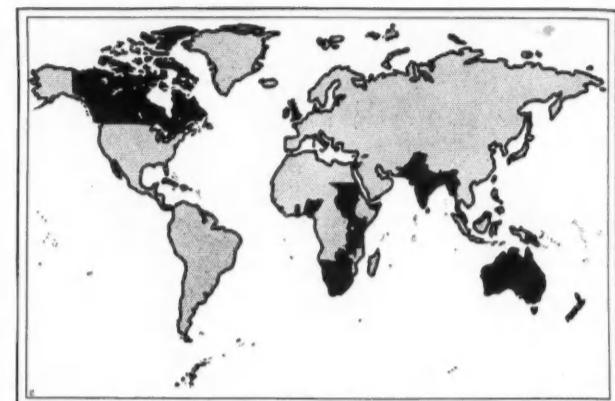
Three Englands

Mr. Priestley speaks of three Englands which he found in the course of his wanderings. First, there is the old rural England, the historic England of the aristocracy, the substantial farmers, the beautiful countryside, the cathedrals and the picturesque villages, the England of tradition. Then, there is the England which developed out of the industrial revolution during the nineteenth century, "the industrial England of coal, iron, steel, cotton, wool, railways; of thousands of rows of little houses all alike, sham Gothic churches, square-faced chapels, town halls, mechanics' institutes, mills, foundries, warehouses, refined watering places, pier pavilions, family and commercial hotels, literary and philosophical societies, back-to-back houses, detached villas with monkey trees, grill rooms, railway stations, slag heaps and 'tips,' dock roads, refreshment rooms, doss-houses, Unionist or Liberal clubs, cindery waste ground, mill chimneys, slums, fried-fish shops, public-houses with red blinds, bathes in corrugated iron, gild-class drapers' and confectioners' shops. This England makes up the larger part of the Midlands and the North and exists everywhere; but it is not being added to and has no new life poured into it."

Finally, there is the post-war England, "belonging far more to the age itself than to this particular island. America, I suppose, was its real birthplace. This is the England of arterial and by-pass roads, of filling stations and factories that look like exhibition buildings, of giant cinemas and dance halls and cafes, bungalows with tiny garages, cocktail bars, Woolworths, motor-coaches, wireless, hiking, factory girls looking like actresses, greyhound racing and dirt tracks, swimming pools, and everything given away for cigarette coupons."

So much for the domestic situation in England. Let us turn now to the far-flung empire. Paul Cohen-Portheim says that

"England is now, and she has been in the past, of the greatest consequence to mankind; she has her aims and her tasks; in fact, she stands for something. To find the answer to the question, What does England signify today? one must broaden one's horizon and contemplate not England and the continent of Europe but the British Empire and our whole planet—the only angle of vision from which it is possible to perceive what the upshot, to date, of the long



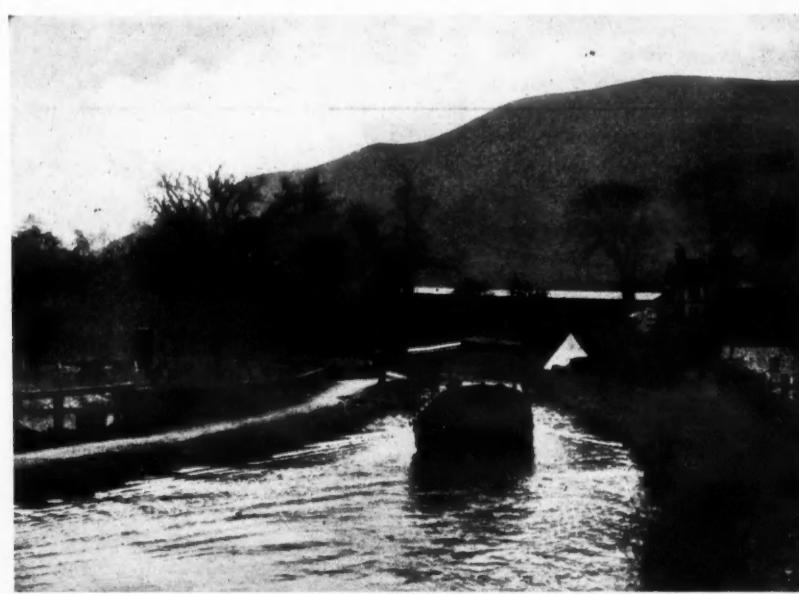
—Caraballo
THE BRITISH EMPIRE

march of English history is and what its significance and message for mankind."

This German author then devotes the concluding chapter of "The Unknown Isle" to a description and analysis of the British Empire, and "illogical," "incoherent," "haphazard" aggregation of nations, dominions, provinces, colonies, comprising about a fourth of the land area of the earth and containing about a fourth of the human race.

England depends largely on this empire, loosely hung together, as an outlet for her goods and her capital and, to a somewhat lesser degree, as a source of raw materials for her industry. The chief strength of the empire lies in the self-governing dominions—Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Ireland—Independent nations which hold together voluntarily in a commonwealth, recognizing England as its head. India has an entirely different status, being an empire in itself composed of British India and semi-independent principalities, held together by England's ruling hand. There are colonies governed by English governors-general and councils, and there are protectorates and mandates, like Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Palestine.

This aggregation or conglomeration of nations, colonies, provinces, and protectorates is not, in the strict sense of the term, an empire. But it holds together with such tenacity as to confuse those who have for years predicted disintegration. Mr. Cohen-Portheim was certain that the end of the British Empire, if it ever came, would mark the end of the world-wide rule of the white man, since there is no substitute in the world for the statesmanlike British leadership which has enabled Britain to guide and direct the activities and claim the loyalties of so large a portion of the world's colored population. But this leadership, now, is being put to its greatest test as far-flung members of the empire are coming less and less to identify their interests with Mother England. Will it stand the test and will the consequences to the world be as great as predicted if it does not? The question is an important one to the entire world.



—Courtesy Manchester Guardian
THE CANAL AT LLANGOLEN

The American Observer

A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

Published weekly throughout the year (except two issues in December) by the CIVIC EDUCATION SERVICE, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Subscription price, single copy, \$2 a calendar year. In clubs of five or more for class use, \$1 a school year or 50 cents a semester.

Entered as second-class matter Sept. 15, 1931, at the Post Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL BOARD
CHARLES A. BEARD HAROLD G. MOULTON
FRED J. KELLY DAVID S. MUZZEY
WALTER E. MYER, Editor

PAUL D. MILLER, Associate Editor

AROUND THE WORLD

The Mediterranean: Two of Britain's most powerful battleships, the *Nelson* and the *Rodney*, have reached Gibraltar on what the British government calls their spring cruise. They are a little early for a spring cruise, but just in time to steam out into the Mediterranean at the moment when the League of Nations Council is opening a session in Geneva. The Council will decide whether to prohibit the shipment of oil to Italy. The denial of oil to the Italians would deprive them of fuel for their navy, for their airplanes, and their tanks. It would deal them a serious blow, and Mussolini has said that Italy's reply would be war.

Perhaps Mussolini is only bluffing. Perhaps he would not commit an act which would seem so suicidal. But the British will feel a little safer to have the *Nelson*, the *Rodney*, and other units of their great war fleet cruising in the Mediterranean. They feel safer still with the knowledge that the French fleet has also been mobilized for action and is plowing those same troubled waters. The British are pleased with the knowledge that the ports of Greece, Yugoslavia, and Turkey will probably be open to their war vessels. And just in case the Italians should undertake to march their armies from Ethiopia into Egypt, the British are strengthening their Egyptian garrisons.

The Italian navy is also ready for action. It is not large enough to hope for success against the combined British and French fleets. But who knows what destruction the great fleet of Italian airplanes might inflict if war should be decided upon!

These are anxious, dramatic days in Europe, in North Africa, along the historic water route from Europe to the Orient, for, in the words of one of our popular songs, "anything can happen."

* * *

Geneva: The diplomats of Great Britain, France, and the other League of Nations powers, while brandishing the sword with one hand, do not neglect to extend the olive branch with another. The League committee charged with the working out of a peace plan has not given up hope. Mussolini is said to have come to the conclusion that victory in Ethiopia will not be as easy to obtain as he thought. His armies appear to be making little progress. Just now they are hampered by unseasonable rains and the wet season will be on in earnest in three months or so. The Italians are being hurt by the sanctions. Mussolini probably knows now that the defeat of his plans is a possibility. He may, therefore, be willing to give up the Ethiopian venture if he is given concessions by which he can save his face.

The British and French are anxious to bring the unpleasant Ethiopian affair to an end. They do not want Italy to win, and, at the same time, they do not want the Ethiopians to win decisively. For if these black people should repulse a white invader, it might put dangerous ideas in the minds of the millions of colored people ruled over by a relatively small number of British and French in their African colonies and dominions.

* * *

London: At no time has there been much hope that anything important would come of the London Naval Conference. The Japanese insist that they will not consent to

limit their naval building unless it shall be agreed that their navy may be as large as that of Great Britain or the United States. The Americans and the British will not consent to that. The American position is that the ratio shall remain as it was fixed in 1922 at 5:5:3; that is, equal navies for Great Britain and the United States and a Japanese navy three-fifths as large.

Why should the Japanese insist so stoutly that their navy must be as large as the American? If the United States should attack Japan and fight in Japanese waters, the Japanese could whip an Ameri-

can navy two or three times the size of theirs. Such would be the advantage of fighting at home. If, on the other hand, the Japanese should attack the United States and cross the Pacific to fight in American waters, they would be defeated unless they had a navy several times as large as the American. It would appear, then, that the question as to whether the Japanese navy should be equal to the American or only three-fifths as large should not be so vital either to the Japanese or to the Americans. In either case, the Japanese could whip the American navy in Japanese waters, and the Americans could whip the Japanese in American waters.

Both countries, however, are thinking of the possibility that the United States and Great Britain may combine against Japan at some time. If both the American and British navies were decidedly larger than the Japanese, and especially if they should have the help of the Russians, they might defeat Japan in her own territory.

So Japan will insist upon as large a navy as she can get, and the Americans and British will try to get her to agree to as small a navy as possible. Just now the Japanese are in a stubborn mood and appear unwilling to make concessions. But the trump card of the British and the Americans is that if no agreement is made, and if it comes to a competition in naval building, the British and Americans, being wealthier and having larger natural resources, can out-build the Japanese.

The Japanese would probably be overawed by that prospect and would make concessions, were it not for the notion in

the back of their heads that, though the British and Americans can outbuild them, they will not. They think that these countries, being democracies and loving peace, will build for a while and then relax their efforts.

The diplomatic game which is being played at London is clever, hard, cynical, and exceedingly complex.

* * *

Canada: Canada, as well as the United States, has a "new deal," a series of measures enacted before the last election when Premier Bennett was at the helm. These social reform measures compare in importance to those of the Roosevelt New Deal in our own country.

Not only does Canada have a "new deal," but she has a constitution, the British North American Act. As is the case in the United States, there is a question as to the constitutionality of a number of the Canadian "new deal" measures. It is thought by many that these Dominion of Canada laws encroach upon the rights of the individual Canadian provinces.

But instead of putting these laws into effect and allowing them to operate for two years or more, only finally to be declared unconstitutional, the Canadians are settling the matter beforehand. Before these laws are put into effect, the question of their constitutionality is to be put to Canada's supreme court. The present premier, W. L. MacKenzie King, by taking this action, is avoiding the confusion which prevails in the United States when laws which have long been in operation are declared invalid. The Canadians believe that this practice of having their highest court speak in advance relative to the constitutionality of their laws is superior to the American practice under which such action is impossible.

* * *

Russia: From the time when the Russian government put into effect its first Five Year Plan there has been much dissatisfaction among the Russian people because it has been so hard for them to obtain goods which they really need. The government has been straining every nerve to enlarge the factories and secure more machinery and build railroads. It has wanted above all things to increase productive power. The government itself has acted much as a businessman does when he puts everything he makes back into the business and does not save out enough so that he may furnish comforts and luxuries to his family.

The Soviet government has reached the place in its program where it now feels that it can give more attention to the production of goods for immediate consumption. More clothing, and clothing of more beautiful design, is being produced and put in the shops. Radios, pianos, watches, and other things of that kind are being made available for the people in greater quantities. The shops are being "dressed up." Restaurants are being made more attractive. More attention is being given to the satisfaction of the natural demands of the population. Every effort is being made to make living easier and more pleasant and, consequently, to bring increased satisfaction with the Soviet experiment among the Russian people.

Cuba: Dr. Miguel Gomez was elected president of Cuba in the elections of January 10 by a slender but sufficient majority over his chief opponent, former president Mario G. Menocal. There were no great issues involved in the contest since both leading candidates represent the conservative forces in Cuba. The radical followers of former president Grau San Martin, who was forced out of office in 1934 by the refusal of the American State Department to recognize his government, were not represented in the election. There is dictatorship in Cuba today, as strict as there was in the time of the tyrant Machado, and the present "unofficial ruler," Colonel Fulgencio Batista, head of the army, will admit of no opposition from Communists and other



MIND YOUR OWN COAT TAILS, UNCLE
—From the Columbus Dispatch

radicals opposed to conservative policies. Dr. Gomez, son of a former president of Cuba, has had experience in Cuban politics as mayor of Havana, a position which he held on two occasions. As soon as it became evident that he would win over Menocal, Dr. Gomez declared to reporters that he would seek to deepen "the bond of friendship and close relations," with the United States.

* * *

Nazi Minister Schacht is reported to have advised less flagrant discrimination against Jews in regard for the feelings of visitors to the Olympic Games held in Germany in February. Anti-Semitic posters will be reduced in number and Jewish merchants will be allowed to peddle their wares with less discomfort.

* * *

Scotland Yard uses 16 "Q" cars equipped with wireless receivers to guard against crime in London. Telephone subscribers are urged to phone in anything or anybody that looks suspicious.

* * *

Japan has refused to answer a Soviet request for a commission to settle border disputes in the Far East. The Russian government is now protesting the trespasses in Siberia by Japanese military planes.

* * *

"Junk controllers" are raiding German parlors to clean out plush chairs and sofas, inherited from one generation to another. This is reported to be part of a movement to beautify and modernize German homes.

* * *

Tourists visiting Old Mexico will search in vain for señoritas and guitars. They play in vaudeville but are not on the streets, it is claimed. No two-gunned caballeros will accost the tourists either, for Mexican highways are said to be better patrolled than our own.



© Martin

PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS IN OTTAWA, CANADA



© Harris and Ewing

WHITHER AGRICULTURE?

Secretary of Agriculture Wallace and AAA Administrator Davis after a conference on plans to replace the AAA.

Is New Deal Wrecked?

How completely has the Supreme Court wrecked the President's program? How much of it is left unchallenged as to constitutionality? What, after all, are the important New Deal measures? Perhaps we should take the President's own estimate. In his message to Congress in which he transmitted the annual budget he named an even dozen acts which he said constituted the main part of his program. Here they are:

(1) Make bank deposits safe. This has been reasonably successfully achieved without raising a point of constitutionality. (2) Save the farms and homes from foreclosures. Through the Farm Credit Administration and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation this objective has largely been achieved. (3) Start public works on a large scale. No question of constitutionality here. (4) Encourage home building. Much has been done along this line, and while court decisions have placed certain obstacles in the way, they have not affected the administration's activity to any great extent. (5) Increase farm crop values. That was what the AAA undertook to do, and it has



© Harris and Ewing

EYE TO EYE
But Senator Gerald P. Nye, chairman of the Senate Munitions Committee, and J. P. Morgan do not agree as they match wits in the Senate probe of war financing.

been declared unconstitutional. (6) Work relief instead of the dole. No question of constitutionality. (7) Reduce all interest rates. Efforts along that line are still proceeding without raising constitutional issues. (8) Increase foreign trade, both imports and exports. This is the object of the reciprocity treaties, the constitutionality of which is not seriously questioned. (9) Extend government credit to railways and other private activities. The RFC and other agencies have carried on this work without interference from the courts. (10) Reduce unsound speculation. The securities act and the regulation of the stock exchange are aimed at that objective and are not charged with unconstitutionality. (11) Eliminate starvation wages. This was the purpose of the NRA which was declared unconstitutional. (12) Seek and maintain a higher level of values. Higher prices have been sought by going off the gold standard and the devaluation of the dollar. Insofar as the constitutionality of these measures has been ques-

The Week in the United States**What the American People Are Doing, Saying, and Thinking**

tioned, the acts have been sustained by the Court.

It will be seen that the major part of the Roosevelt program, as the President himself sees it, has been or is being carried out without coming into conflict with the Constitution. It should be noted, however, that many of these measures have been merely emergency acts. The two which seemed to give promise of the greatest permanent importance; that is, the increasing of farm values and the elimination of starvation wages, are the very ones which have run up against constitutional snags.

What Will Happen?

Since the Supreme Court has swept aside important features of the New Deal, the country has watched President Roosevelt anxiously to see what his reaction would be. Newspaper correspondents flocked into his office excitedly for the press conference on the day following the AAA decision. They thought he might have a dramatic announcement to make. It was believed that he might at least make a critical comment on the Court's decision as he did following the overthrow of the NRA last spring.

But the President had nothing to say about the decision at the press conference. In the course of his Jackson Day dinner talk a few days later he said he was studying the decision and its effects and would have no comment to make for a time. He has carefully refrained from disclosing his intentions.

What will he do if the Supreme Court declares the Wagner labor act, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Guffey coal act, and the utilities regulation act unconstitutional? A large part of the New Deal will then be upset. Will the President undertake to find substitutes for the measures which have been declared unconstitutional? Will he merely tell the country what he would have done if the Supreme Court had not interfered? Or will he come out for an amendment or amendments to the Constitution which will permit Congress to do things which it is now unable to do?

There is much to be said in favor of his standing by his program and asking for amendments to the Constitution which would permit him and Congress to carry it through. That would seem to be the logical thing to do if he believes the program to be necessary for the public welfare and if it becomes clear that it cannot be carried out until Congress is granted more power. It would be a fine thing, in a way, to fight the campaign out on that issue. Then the American people would have something definite to decide when they went to the polls. They could determine the very important question of whether they do or do not wish Congress to have broader powers than it now possesses. Specifically, they might vote on the question of whether they wished Congress to have power to enact minimum wage laws and to regulate production on the farms and in the factories.

On the other hand, there would be disadvantages in having a question concerning the amendment of the Constitution tied up with a political campaign. The question would then become a partisan one. It would not be contested on its merits. Partisan Democrats would vote for the constitutional change and partisan Republicans would vote against it, regardless of the positions they might otherwise take. From the President's own standpoint, it would probably be unwise for him to inject the constitutional issue into the campaign. There is very strong feeling throughout the nation against constitutional changes. The voters of the country might be willing to change the Constitution in time of emergency when they were scared and felt that catastrophe might result if the government were unable to act in a strong and decisive way. But when times seem to be improving, as they are at present, many people are inclined to oppose drastic changes of any kind. They do not want to run the risk of disturbing the forces which appear to be making for better

times. If the President should insist now upon amendments to the Constitution there would be a tendency to lose sight of the record of his administration and to fight the issue out on the constitutional question alone.

It seems likely that President Roosevelt will undertake to find substitutes for the measures which have been declared unconstitutional. He is already doing that in the case of the AAA. This will permit him to go ahead working for the objectives he has been driving toward, without going into the question of changing the Constitution. Of course, if the Wagner act, which undertakes to guarantee to workers the right to organize, and if the Guffey act, which undertakes to guarantee living wages in the coal fields, are declared unconstitutional, millions of voters in the ranks of labor may become so insistent upon a change in the Constitution

which the supply is usually greater than demand. But the payments will not be made in the same form as that of the AAA. The farmers will not be asked to resign contracts. Rather, they will be paid to keep land out of use for purposes of soil conservation or to raise crops other than wheat, cotton, and goods which are being similarly overproduced. If, for example, a farmer has been putting out all his land in wheat, he may be given a subsidy for putting some out in soy beans or some other crop which restores fertility to the soil. In some sections he may be paid to put out forest trees or turn certain of his fields into pastures.

The farmer would be paid in this case to raise something, rather than to promise to restrict output. Furthermore, the money put the plan into operation would not be raised through the processing tax, as in the case of the AAA. It is hoped by those who are in favor of the program that the new plan would be declared unconstitutional as the AAA was. It is not at all certain, however, that the substitute program will meet the objections of the Supreme Court.

Neutrality Bill Attacked

The administration's neutrality bill, as described in THE AMERICAN OBSERVER last week, is stirring up a great deal of comment and discussion throughout the country. Some position has developed in the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, which is holding hearings on the measure. A sharp attack is coming from those who think that, in case of a war among foreign nations, the United States should not give up any of its trade, but should insist upon the right to trade freely with belligerents; in other words, upon the traditional American doctrine of freedom of the seas. Furthermore, argument to this effect is being expressed outside of Congress as well as within that body. For example, Colonel Frank Knox, a prominent candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, is quoted in the New York Herald-Tribune as saying that he does not believe cotton growers who stand to make exceptional profits in wartime could be successfully restrained from trafficking with Europe in case of war. He thinks the best means of keeping America out of war is for our country to be "so strong and so well prepared that people will leave us alone."

Walter Lippmann presents more carefully reasoned objections to the administration's neutrality policy. He raises two questions which he would like those advocating the restriction of American exports to fighting nations to answer. First, how would our government limit exports? If it decided to ban the export of cotton, for example, down



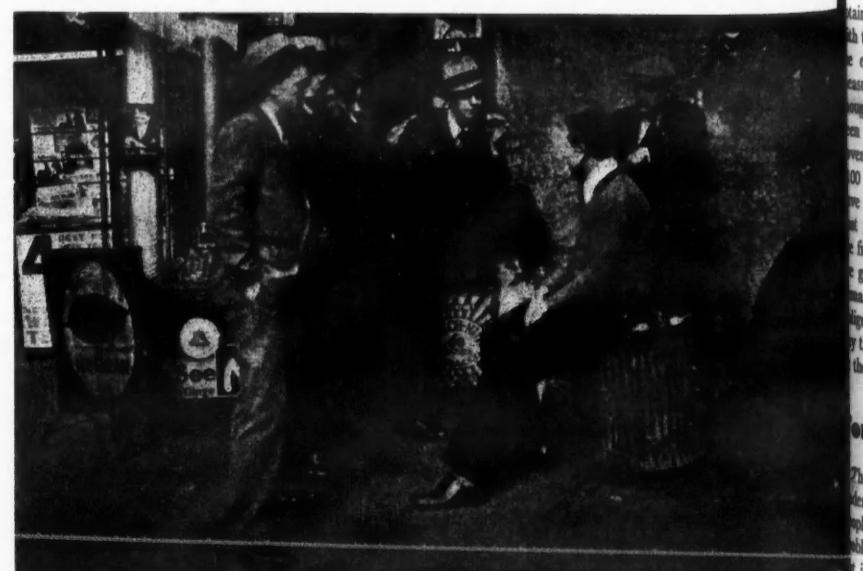
HOW ABOUT SOME SERVICE!

—Elderman in Washington Post

that nothing short of a demand for amendment on the part of the President would hold their support. Any way one views it, the President is left in a difficult and embarrassing position by the action of the United States Supreme Court.

AAA Substitute

Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, Chester Davis, and other administration leaders have worked out a program of farm relief as a substitute for the AAA. Here are its main features: The government is to continue to give benefit payments to farmers. It will continue its efforts to get them to cut their production of crops, like cotton and wheat, of



—Courtesy New York Y.M.C.A.

It is estimated that 5,500,000 youths 16 to 25 years of age are unemployed and out of school.

States

Thinking

What it had been before the war, how would it decide which cotton producers or exporters should sell their cotton and which ones should be restrained? Or would the government be compelled to buy up the cotton and do the exporting itself, selling only the amount that it wished to sell?

The second question is this: If the European nations knew that in time of war they could not depend upon America for their war supplies, would they not, even before the outbreak of war, try to develop new sources of the supplies? Would they not withdraw their trade from America and begin to import goods from countries upon which they might depend more heavily in war time? If then, we should adopt such a policy, might it not cut down our foreign trade even in peace time?

Despite the objections which are being voiced, it seems that the overwhelming opinion in America at present is in favor of a new neutrality policy on the order of that which is being considered by Congress.

Big Bankers in Big War

The most commanding figures in American finance—the heads of the great House of Morgan, including J. P. Morgan himself—have been sitting around a table in the Senate office building, talking with senators about the steps which led America into the World War. They have been called before the Nye Committee, which is investigating the munitions industry. They are being asked about the part American financiers played in securing loans for the Allies, and in making it possible for the Allied nations not only to borrow money but to buy goods in the United States before we went into the war.

The senators are trying to find out whether the big financial interests had anything to do with America's decision to enter the war. They want to know whether the American government was influenced by the fact that the Americans which had been made to the Allied nations by Americans probably could not be paid back unless the Allies won. They want to know whether or not we were drawn into the war to save the big war trade which had developed.

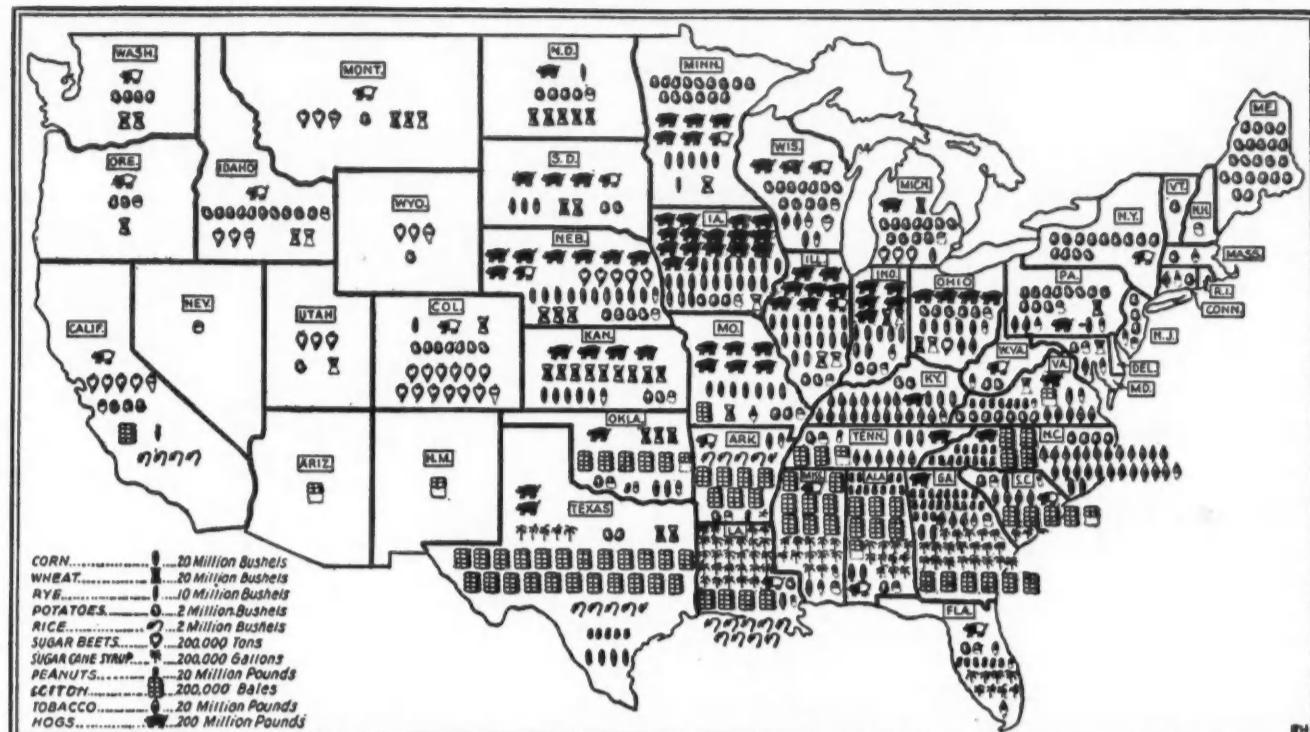
THE AMERICAN OBSERVER will report the results of this investigation when it is finished. Of course, the facts relative to the influences which drew us into the World War will help the congressmen to decide what kind of neutrality policy America should adopt as a means of keeping us out of future wars.

Bonus Wins

A bill providing for the immediate payment of the soldiers' bonus passed the House January 9 by a vote of 356 to 59. It did not specify the required \$2,000,000,000 or so is to be attained. The Senate was obliged to wrestle with that difficult problem. As we go to press, the effort is being made to agree upon a measure which the President may sign, even though he is opposed to the bonus. It has been suggested that the service men be given government bonds—small bonds of \$50 or \$100 each—instead of money. They are to have the privilege of taking these bonds to a bank office and getting cash for them if they fit to do so. But it is hoped that if they are given the bonds, many of them will not demand cash and the treasury will not be obliged either to raise money by taxation to pay them or to sell bonds to the general public or the banks in order to raise the money.

Old-Age Pensions

The American Institute of Public Opinion undertakes to find out what the American people are thinking about important public problems. It conducts polls, being careful to ask its questions before all classes of people. It tries to make a really scientific study of public opinion. Each week it makes public the results of its poll on some particular issue.



—Courtesy New York Times

MAP OF THE UNITED STATES SHOWING THE CROPS INVOLVED IN THE SUPREME COURT'S AAA DECISION.

Last week, it reported the result of the poll on old-age pensions and the Townsend plan. This poll indicates that 89 per cent of the American people are for old-age pensions of some sort, but that only 3.8 per cent are for the Townsend plan. According to this investigation, the heaviest support for the Townsend plan is to be found in the three Pacific states, where 16 per cent are in favor of it. In the mountain states 12 per cent look with favor upon the Townsend proposal. In the southeastern states it commands the support of only 1.2 per cent. Most of those who favor old-age pensions would put the retirement age at 60 years.

The Way of the Horse

Are American workers going the way of the horse? That question has been raised quite dramatically by Representative Amlie of Wisconsin. In 1918, he says, there were 22,000,000 horses in the United States. In 1930, there were but 14,000,000. What was the matter? The answer is that their places had been taken by tractors. The work of the nation could be done without them on account of the introduction of machinery. The optimistic horse lover, viewing the situation in the early twenties, might have said that there was really no problem of employment for horses. If new machinery were introduced the cost of agricultural production and consequently the prices of farm products would go down, more people would use them, the demand would increase, more could be produced, and the same number of horses, or an even larger number, could find employment. But that did not happen.

What, now, of human labor? So much machinery has been introduced that each man in American industry can produce from 30 to 37 per cent more than he could at the time of the war. The result is that, though production throughout the United States is now back practically to where it was during the 1920's, from 20 to 30 per cent of American workers are unemployed. Optimistic economists say that they will all find work after a while. But the horses did not. And the workers of Ireland did not when, during the nineteenth century, there was a change in the farming and industrial practices. Within a few years the Irish population fell from 8,000,000 to 5,500,000, and it has never come back.

Listen, on the other hand, to the opinion of Colonel Frank Knox: "Do you believe, Colonel, that private industry alone can put most of our 10,000,000 back to work?" he was asked by a representative of the New York *Herald-Tribune*. "Seventy-five per cent of them, yes," he replied. "Of course, there will always be a certain amount of unemployment. Perhaps about 2,000,000; there always has been. But the greatest part of the jobless can certainly be absorbed, once confidence is restored. . . . There is a heavy torrent of orders in the heavy goods industry which is simply waiting to be released. That alone is capable

of putting several million people back to work."

Is Colonel Knox in the position of the optimistic horse lovers of the 1920's, or is Congressman Amlie merely "seein' things"? That is a question of fact, and upon one's answer to it depends his political and economic philosophy.

College Co-ops

Coöperative cafes and cafeterias, book stores, dormitories, gas stations, and cleaning and pressing shops are flourishing today among the students of 45 colleges in the United States. These student coöperatives enable their members to make considerable reductions in their living costs, for coöperatives, by elimi-

nating interest and comment that the Falk Foundation, which sponsored the study, has reissued it in pamphlet form. The pamphlet, as long as the supply lasts, will be sent free of charge to anyone requesting it. The address is: The Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation, Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

The Democrats will hold their national convention in Philadelphia on June 23, just two weeks after the Republicans meet in Cleveland.

* * *

Jesse Jones, chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Committee, has warned the banks of the country that the government would continue private lending until they agreed to allow the "small fellow" as low interest rates on loans as they do the "big fellow."

* * *

An increase in child labor after the collapse of the NRA was reported by William Green of the A. F. of L. He revealed that many children of 13 work in silk mills for as little as \$4 a week.

Aviation set a safety record this year with only 49 fatalities from crack-ups as compared with 75 in 1934.

* * *

Economic and political unrest has stimulated the return of the "town meeting," once prevalent in old New England. A Columbia University committee urges that a "new type of educator" be trained to direct them.

* * *

Within two years the new 200-inch glass disk for the 200-inch telescope will be ready to unfold untold secrets of the skies. The grinding machine to shape the disk into its final form has just been shipped to Mt. Palomar, California, where the telescope will be erected.

* * *

"What Can I Show This Community for the Years I Have Spent in School?"

Students of a senior high school claimed a development in good citizenship, good thinking, and good fellowship. Very few mentioned proficiency in the subjects of their school curricula.

* * *

"The Constitution of the United States is like the Bible in some respects. Everybody has heard of it and feels competent to discourse on the subject. Yet it is safe to say that 99 per cent of those who speak of the Constitution in tones of awe or disrespect could not pass a high school examination on its phrases, principles, and applications. Fewer still could write a correct 50-word account of how it was framed and adopted." —Charles A. Beard

* * *

The White House reported that only 10 telegrams of the 417 received after the President's Jackson Day speech contained any adverse criticism.



WALTER LIPPmann
Disapproves the administration's neutrality policy.

nating the profit element in business, can afford to serve their clients for less.

Encouraged by the success of coöperatives in colleges, representatives of such organizations in 11 states recently met in Indianapolis and organized a National Committee on Student Coöperatives whose purpose will be to speed the development of the coöperative movement in other colleges. W. H. Moore, 5757 University Avenue, Chicago, representing the Kimball Coöperative at Chicago Theological Seminary was named chairman.

Worth Reading

In the November issue of *Fortune Magazine* there appeared an article by Dr. Harold G. Moulton, president of the Brookings Institution, which summarized the Institution's recent study of the economic situation in the United States. The results of that study filled four volumes, but the essential material was effectively condensed by Dr. Moulton in the *Fortune* article.

This article has given rise to such wide-

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

Economic Significance of the Civil War

UNTIL recently, historians, in treating the Civil War, have subordinated practically everything else to the issue of slavery. And it is true, of course, that slavery was an extremely important issue, the issue that was dramatized more fully than any other in the struggle between the North and the South. But the Civil War was far more than a battle over the question of involuntary servitude. It was a clash between two economic systems, and so far as the economic history of the United States is concerned, it was this latter aspect which had far more lasting effect than the specific issue of slavery.

Nor did this conflict between two economic systems spring up suddenly just before the Civil War. It had long been brewing. We have seen how, in the days

of Jefferson, attempts were made to curb the power of industry and to guarantee the prosperity and security of the small, independent farmer and producer. That was the essence of Jeffersonian Democracy. A few decades later, a similar struggle took place under the administrations of Andrew Jackson. It was the purpose of Jackson to curb the growing power of the financial and industrial interests and to shape governmental policies for the benefit of the masses of the people.

Industrialism Triumphant

Whatever temporary effects these attempts had in preventing the domination of business over our economic life were completely frustrated by the Civil War, for the one outstanding result of that conflict was firmly to entrench the business interests and to thwart the agrarian economy of the South. The process, which had been going on long before the outbreak of the war, was accelerated during the years of the conflict. Many of those who were later to be dubbed "the robber barons" or the "captains of industry" laid their groundwork while the country was at war. Many of them did not actually take part in the military campaign, but remained at home and reaped enormous profits from the war. In the field of finance, they made great progress, for they lent their assistance to the government, at a high price, to be sure. Others, the manufacturers and industrialists, fattened themselves on the orders which the government placed with them. The profits made during the four years of war were far greater than those which had been made during any four years of peace in our national history.

It was not difficult for business enterprise to secure governmental policies which would benefit them. The voice of the South in the legislative halls was stilled, and what opposition there was to such things as the tariff was effectively squelched with little effort. Thus, we find in the post-war period, an increase in tariff rates so that industry would be protected as never before and that new industries might spring up under the shelter of this governmental program. While the Homestead Act of 1862 was ostensibly for the purpose of giving to the people a chance to settle on lands in the West, it was really the big business interests that derived the greatest benefits. As Hacker and Kendrick point out in their "The United States Since 1865," "Before Grant's administrations were over it (monopoly) had received more than three times as many acres of the public domain as had all the homesteaders put together!"

Lest discontented workers of the industrial sections might be lured west by the opportunity for free land, and thus force wages up in the East, an immigration policy

favorable to business enterprise was pursued by the government. Foreign labor was encouraged to come to this country. Under this policy, the number of immigrants increased from 80,000 in 1863, before the new law went into effect, to 320,000 in 1866, to 380,000 in 1870, and to 420,000 in 1873.

Monopoly Arrives

The whole character of American business underwent a profound change during the years following the Civil War. Previously, there had been small factories, managed and supervised personally by the owners. Now the trend was toward consolidation into larger and larger units. The capital which had accumulated in the hands of the bankers and industrialists during the war enabled the expansion of business on a grand scale. Huge corporations sprang into existence. Manufacturing, railroad building, mining, banking, oil refining, and numerous other industries drifted toward consolidation. Big business was in the saddle. The day of monopoly had arrived.

Under the impetus of the war, business moved to ever higher levels. In Philadelphia alone, during the last two years of the war, more than 180 new manufacturing establishments sprang up. From 1860 to 1880, the value of all manufactured products increased 200 per cent. Large industrial centers grew up in the place of the old agricultural regions. Railroads spanned the continent. Mines were opened. And the government did little or nothing to interfere with the practices of the industrialists (there is considerable doubt that it would have been able to, under the Constitution, even if it had had the will to control the expansion for the benefit of the people). There are numerous instances of these powerful economic interests actually dictating to the political government. It was not until 1887 that Congress made any attempt to regulate the giant corporations. In that year it passed the Interstate Commerce Act, which was designed primarily to regulate the great railroad systems of the country.

While America made economic progress during the decades following the Civil War, the picture was not without its shady side. The South was prostrated because cotton was removed from its pedestal as king. Workers began to grumble as they saw gigantic fortunes accumulate while many of them were getting a meager share of the national wealth. Farmers organized for political action as a protest against the domination of Wall Street and what they called industrial plutocracy. Now and again these voices of protest banded together to unhorse those who held the positions of economic power, but in the main they were unsuccessful and the relentless trend of economic development went forward. True, under the leadership of such men as Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, the forces of wealth and monopoly were fought. Despite antitrust laws and other legislative devices to bring about a more equitable distribution of the product of industry, monopolies continued to flourish and economic power became more firmly concentrated.

It was the crash of 1929, which left millions of American families stranded and in destitution, that once more brought demands for an assault upon the groups which Theodore Roosevelt had called the "malefactors of great wealth." But the issue has not been settled in our own day. It promises to become more bitter in the coming months than it has been at any time since the turn of the century.



DAVID S. MUZZEY



A PEASANT HOME IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

© Ewing Galloway

Among the New Books

Thirty-One Presidents

"The Presidents in American History," by Charles A. Beard. (New York: Julian Messner. \$2.)

DR. BEARD, one of America's leading historians and political scientists, believes that history is made by men and economic forces and mass movements. It is the combination which determines the trend of events. For that reason, he attempts to interpret the role played by each of our presidents in the light of the circumstances under which he lived. The broad economic problems and the underlying social forces which determined the course of each administration are clearly set forth.

Each of the 31 sketches which make up this book is brief and direct. Only the broadest outline of the biographical essentials is traced by the author. Those who expect a full account of our presidents will be disappointed, for with such a sketchy treatment that is impossible. Nevertheless, the reader finishes the book with a better understanding of the significance of each of the men who have directed the affairs of the nation from its beginning down to the present day.

A Great Teacher

"And Gladly Teach," by Bliss Perry. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin. \$3.)

BLISS PERRY is now 75 years old. For half a century he led the desirable life of a scholar, editor, and author. His reminiscences, written in retrospect, are as great a delight to the reader as the writing of them, with the memory of things invoked, must have been to the author.

Bliss Perry was born to the scholarly

life, in Williamstown, Massachusetts. His father was a professor at Williams, his mother had been a school teacher before she married. It seemed predestined that he should be a teacher. He was, and his career led him to three great colleges, Williams, Princeton, and Harvard. His only departure from his profession was 10 years spent as editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*.

In the course of his duties he was singularly fortunate in his colleagues and friends. Across the pages of this book run many of the great names in American literature and education of the past 50 odd years.

Czechoslovakia's President

"Benes: Statesman of Central Europe," by Pierre Crabitès. (New York: Coward-McCann. \$3.)

EDUARD BENES, the new president of Czechoslovakia, is a remarkable and strange leader. He has not the personality which attracts the crowd. To the masses he makes no appeal for support by means which, under any circumstances, could be called demagogic. Rather he holds himself aloof, while his brilliant mind works incessantly. It is to the credit of the Czechoslovaks that, despite his reserve, they have recognized his genius.

Some 20 years ago Masaryk and Benes were both professors obsessed with the idea of independence for the Czechs and Slovaks. The story of their efforts, the drumming away at the foreign offices of the Allies, and their ultimate success is superb drama. When the new nation was formed, Masaryk was elected the first president and the younger Benes was chosen to be the first foreign minister, a position which he held until he was elected to the presidency upon the retirement of Masaryk a month ago.

Unfortunately Mr. Crabitès has never seen Benes and this biography is lacking in essential characterizations. The records upon which he relied are authentic, however, and he is to be commended for placing before the public a great statesman, democrat, and peace lover.

Death Rides a Rubber-shod Horse

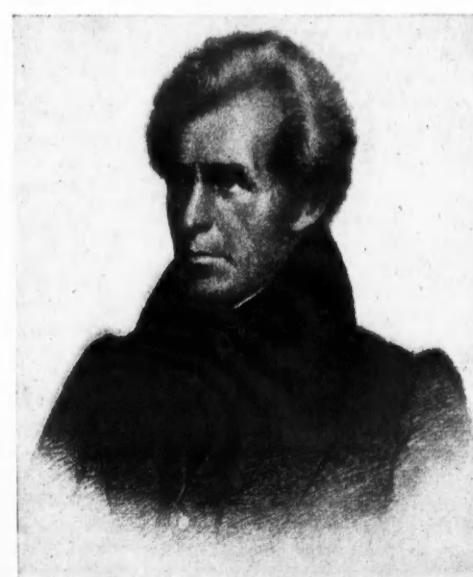
A pale gray ribbon of cement
Rippled along the jutting hill,
And down its silken course there went
The horse Death rode when out to kill.

A rubber-footed silvered steed,
Needing no impact from a lash,
An eagle's grace, a greyhound's speed,
Two glassy eyes to burn and flash.

Love in the saddle; Death to guide
This devil-horse of steel and brass,
Death riding down the countryside
Supplied with lances made of glass.

Death used to ride a white-maned horse
Before these gray roads lined the sod,
But now he travels on his course
Astride a sleek thing rubber-shod.

—Jay G. Sigmund, in "Cornell College Verse," Vol. 2 (Mt. Vernon, Iowa: English Club of Cornell College).



ANDREW JACKSON

From an illustration in "The Presidents in American History."



TALKING THINGS OVER

The President and the Constitution. Is he in spirit a dictator? Why do some groups favor a strong centralized government and why do others oppose it?

THESE three imaginary students will meet each week on this page to talk things over. The same characters will continue from week to week. We believe that readers of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER will find it interesting to follow these discussions week by week and thus to become acquainted with the three characters. Needless to say, the views expressed on this page are not to be taken as the opinions of the editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.

John: Have you noticed that Secretary Ickes has failed to apologize for his slander against former President Hoover?

Charles: What are you talking about? I didn't know he had ever slandered Hoover.

John: Well, he did. He said that unconstitutional acts had been passed in Hoover's administration. Mr. Hoover denied it, and now it is shown that he is right. Three bills were declared unconstitutional during the Hoover administration. They were bills which had been passed before his term of office began.

Mary: If Secretary Ickes made a statement which turns out to be wrong, I should think that he ought to admit it, but I certainly wouldn't call a statement like that a slander.

John: Why isn't it a slander? Didn't he make a serious charge against the former President?

Mary: Not at all. He is pretending that it is a very serious thing for a President to sign a bill which turns out to be unconstitutional. That's why many of the papers, especially the Republican papers, are making a great deal of this incident. They know that President Roosevelt has signed a number of acts which have been declared unconstitutional. They want to make out that that is a terrible thing for a President to do. Secretary Ickes pointed out the fact that Hoover and Coolidge had signed bills which turned out to be unconstitutional. He made the statement, which apparently was a mistaken one, that the same thing had happened during the Hoover administration. But what of it? The Constitution is pretty indefinite. No one knows in advance whether an act will be held unconstitutional or not. Even the Supreme Court disagrees about it. In the AAA decision, three justices thought it was constitutional and six thought it wasn't. When even the most learned justices in the land disagree, it certainly isn't any indication of a lawless spirit when a President considers an act of Congress constitutional and signs it, only to find out later that the Supreme Court, or a majority of its members, thinks otherwise.

John: You're just trying to defend President Roosevelt. You know that he has less regard for the Constitution than other Presidents have had. He has tried to override it. He has put through a New Deal program, a large part of which is unconstitutional. Now, you're trying to pretend that that isn't much of an offense.

Mary: There is an explanation of the fact that the Roosevelt administration has put through so much legislation which the Court is declaring to be unconstitutional.

John: Of course, there's a reason. The reason is that President Roosevelt is in spirit a dictator. He doesn't accept the principles of democratic government. He wants to run the country in an autocratic way. Did you read what Mark Sullivan said on this question the other day? He said, "The conflict between constitutional government and autocracy is the issue before America in the coming campaign."

Mary: Yes, I know that's the line taken by Mark Sullivan, David Lawrence, and a number of the anti-administration political writers. But that's not the true explanation. The reason that the Roosevelt administration has enacted legislation which has been upset by the courts is this: Roosevelt wants to use the government in the

interest of the common people. He wants to do something for the farmers and the workers. Other administrations haven't. They have been willing to stand by and see poverty and injustice and do nothing about it. They haven't wanted the government to act so long as the big business barons could make their profits. Since they wanted the government to stand still and let things slide, of course they wouldn't come in conflict with the Constitution. President Roosevelt wants the government to do something. He wants Congress to

up, interfering with recovery, and really not helping anybody. He's even going against the traditions of his own party. The Democrats have always stood for states' rights. They've been opposed to centralized power in the hands of the national government. Jefferson was opposed to it. Jackson was opposed to it. The Democratic party all along has been. Now Roosevelt turns around and advocates a national government so strong that, if he had his way, state lines would be practically wiped out.

Mary: That's a gross exaggeration, John. Merely to give Congress power to regulate wages in big corporations and to control the production of a national industry like agriculture wouldn't wipe out state lines. The states would still have nearly all the powers which they now possess, powers of education, crime control, health, safety, roads, and dozens of other things. When you pretend that the President wants to do away with the states you

they opposed the establishment of a strong national power in the United States.

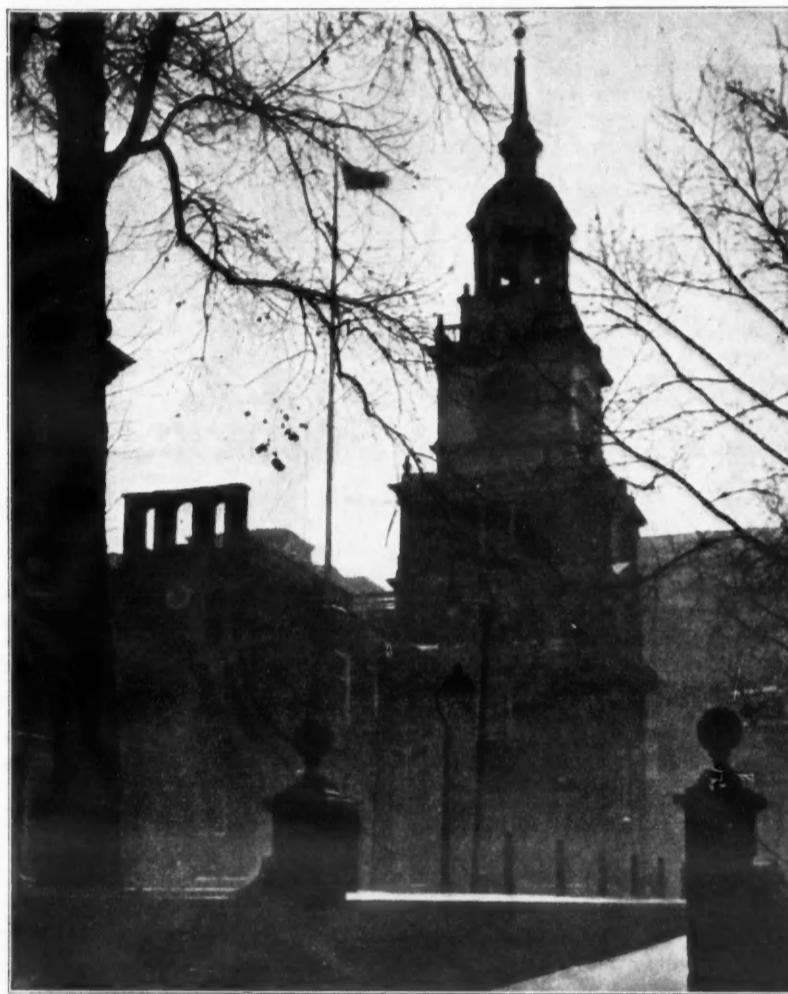
Fairly recently, the line-up of parties, or forces, has been reversed. Gradually, the social and economic descendants of the Jeffersonians came to favor stronger government. The reasons are twofold. In the first place, they have come to see that there might be tyranny outside of government. Great private corporations had grown up and had become so powerful as to exert a strong influence over the lives and working conditions of the masses of people. The common man began to feel that his security and freedom were threatened by these great industrial forces. At the same time, he became more hopeful of government, because it was becoming more democratic. He saw a chance to get hold of the government and wanted that government to be strong, so that he might use it to curb the great corporate interests. He wanted a government which could regulate wages, working conditions, and industrial production.

For the same reasons, the Hamiltonians—the conservatives, the representatives of the business interests—began to acquire a distrust of strong government. They were getting along fairly well except in emergencies, and they wanted the national government to be relatively weak so that it could not regulate corporations drastically or compete in any way with business.

We see, therefore, that both sides have shifted. The Republicans, who are successors of the Hamiltonians, are for states' rights and a relatively weak national government. The Democrats, at least those who follow President Roosevelt, are the successors of the Jeffersonians. But since they represent the less fortunate elements in the population they are now for a strong national government. These poorer classes in the earlier years fought centralization, but now they look upon the national government as a friend whose arm they want to strengthen.

John: Do you think the Roosevelt administration is really doing much for the poor people?

Charles: No, I don't, and I know very well that the Republicans aren't. But that's another story and one that we haven't time for today.



INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA—CRADLE OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

prevent starvation wages. He wants it to cure the troubles of the farmers—troubles which not only threw the farmers into poverty, but helped bring on the depression. Now, when he starts out to get the government to act he finds that some of the things he wants it to do in the interest of the people are things which apparently the Constitution doesn't give Congress the right to do. The people who made the Constitution weren't thinking about problems such as we have. There wasn't any need then for minimum wage laws and laws regulating agricultural production. If the Supreme Court is interpreting the Constitution correctly, which perhaps it is and perhaps it isn't, but as I say, if it is interpreting it correctly, it means that the makers of the Constitution didn't give Congress certain powers which we now, after a century and a half, see that it ought to have. But the fact that President Roosevelt has gone the limit in getting Congress to act and has perhaps even stepped across the line and had it do a few things that it hasn't the constitutional right to do isn't to his discredit. It's to his credit.

John: That's a pretty speech, Mary, and it's all very well, assuming your facts are correct. But I deny that President Roosevelt is really helping the farmers or the workers. I think he's just messing things

up, interfering with recovery, and really not helping anybody. He's even going against the traditions of his own party.

The Jeffersonians at that time—those who spoke for the workers and farmers, the common run of poor people—were opposed to strong national authority. The reason was that they looked upon government as a possible tyrant. They were strong for individual liberty, and in the past when liberty had been infringed upon, it had been by governments. So still remembering the tyranny of George III,

Gov. Landon of Kansas drives a Model T. This isn't going back to horse and buggy days, but it's near enough to it to satisfy the most conservative person. —Washington Post

When Mr. H. G. Wells got his first look at Hollywood he must have said to himself: "Even I couldn't have thought of that." —James J. Montague in the N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

I don't believe any more stringent laws would do any good. What we need is a complete reformation of the people. —Senator George W. Norris

The National Resources Committee urges the establishment of 10 or 12 "little capitals" in various parts of the country to permit a decentralization of federal activities. At any rate, it ought to solve the unemployment problem. —Hartford COURANT

Shouse calls it "constructive criticism" of the New Deal. The things it is trying to construct are called skids. —Dayton JOURNAL

I should like to be a dictator long enough to sweep away once and for all the notion that for the people who do the hard monotonous physical work any dirty little hole is good enough. —J. B. Priestley

The score of the vote was 6 to 3, When the nine good men of the U.S.S.C. Said: "Let's go ahead and throw away The unconstitutional A. A. A." —F. P. A. in the N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

The naval conference in London is getting nowhere, because everybody wants as much navy as anybody else. It turns out to be a conference for naval imitation. —THE NEW YORKER

Not without reason has an eminent political scientist defined the state as the part of the people that knows what it wants. —Charles A. Beard

Governor Lehman Opens War on Crime in New York State

(Concluded from page 1)

of crime prevention. What happens in New York will be followed closely by the other states of the Union, and the 60 recommendations which he made to the state legislature may have an important bearing upon action by the other 47 states.

Lehman's Program

Governor Lehman recognized at the outset that little will be accomplished in the way of reducing crime unless public opinion is aroused to its dangers and a concerted drive is made against criminal action of all sorts. The battle against crime, he said, "cannot be won unless all the law-abiding elements of society enthusiastically combine into a phalanx, determined in spirit and concerted in action to destroy gangs of organized crime. In the lead of this phalanx should be the businessmen. They should be particularly interested. No group is more vitally affected." In order to insure the adoption of his program, the governor urged a nonpartisan attack, urging Republicans as well as Democrats to support his program.

We cannot here begin to analyze all the 60 points made by the New York governor in his frontal attack upon crime. Many of his recommendations are highly technical, involving court procedure with which the average citizen is not familiar. We can, however, outline some of the major points in his program and explain the objectives which he hopes to reach by this sweeping attack.

Generally speaking, the Lehman program attempts to attack the crime problem through all its aspects, beginning with prevention and ending with the treatment of criminals in the institutions which have been set up for their care, revision of the laws regarding detection and apprehension of criminals, their prosecution and the whole legal procedure followed by the criminal courts. Recognizing that the problem cannot be handled solely by action on the part of one state, the governor has laid down certain principles of interstate cooperation. In this respect, the program is a plea for action on the part of other states, particularly those adjoining New York. If the program as outlined by Mr. Lehman is to be adopted, the New York constitution will have to be amended in certain respects, for it does not at present permit action of the sort envisaged by the governor.

Bureau of Prevention

Outstanding among his recommendations was the one calling for the establishment of a bureau of crime prevention. The purpose of this new executive department would, in the words of the governor, be to attack crime "at its roots." The bureau would be charged to study crime in all its aspects, to make reports, to draw up legislative programs, and to stimulate co-operation among all the agencies of government charged with handling the crime problem. He also suggested the establishment of a state department of justice modeled along the lines of the federal department, which has had such striking success during the last few years in coping with crime on the national front. This department would assist the local branches of government and would have a bureau of criminal identification which might be used by all agencies of law enforcement in the state.

If the Lehman program is adopted, the state police force will be strengthened; at-

tention will be given to training of officers; a special detective force, something of a Scotland Yard, will be established; county and city governments will be asked to coordinate their police forces; finger-printing will be extended to a longer list of offenders; laws on the possession of firearms will be tightened; there will be new facilities for tracing stolen property and new regulations dealing with stolen cars and licenses.

In order to remove many of the jams which occur in the prosecution of criminal cases, the governor recommends that the state constitution be amended in such a way as to permit a verdict of five-sixths of the members of the jury to be binding, instead of the unanimous decision now required. He would also limit the exemptions from jury duty, so as to enable the state to secure the services of more high-minded and intelligent citizens. The constitution would also be amended so as to eliminate the delay—and often the miscarriage of justice caused by grand jury indictments. A person, under the recommended law, could be brought to trial without such an indictment, merely on information having to do with his participation in the crime.

Many experts on criminal justice have long decried the practice of allowing persons charged with fairly serious crimes to plead guilty to less serious offenses. Prosecutors have done this, it is said, in order to avoid long-drawn-out trials which would otherwise be necessary and thus to relieve the jam characteristic of much of the court procedure. Governor Lehman recommended action to prevent this practice in the future, calling it "bargaining with criminals" on the part of the district attorneys who accept the lesser pleas. "The bad effect on the criminal who succeeds in driving a good bargain is unquestionable," he said.

Interstate Cooperation

Although many of the steps recommended by Mr. Lehman would make violation of the

law harder on criminals, would make "the conviction of the offender speedy, definite, and certain," the governor does not belong to the old school of punishment, once a person has been confined to a prison. He does not regard a jail as a "secure cage" for the prisoner, but rather considers it a place for rehabilitation designed to fit lawbreakers for life in organized society when their sentences have been completed. For this reason, the program of education in prisons would be considerably broadened. In the field of interstate co-operation, Governor Lehman believes that steps should be taken to make it easier for a state to bring to trial a person whose residence is in another state. "A criminal remaining in the state of New Jersey," he said as an example, "may direct the commission of vicious offense in New York state. In such circumstances, our state should be authorized to demand the return of such a criminal from New Jersey in order to convict him in our courts." Along this line, the governor recommends a uniform law on close pursuit, which would enable the officers of one state to follow a criminal across the boundaries of another state and make the arrest there if necessary. He would also have the state enter into a compact with other states for mutual assistance in dealing with the various aspects of law enforcement.

Legislature to Act

These, in the main, are the recommendations of Governor Lehman in his vigorous war on crime. Many of the recommendations have been introduced into the state legislature in a number of different bills. It is expected that little difficulty will stand in the way of their enactment, as they are supported by both Democrats and Republicans in the two houses of the state legislative body.

It is recognized, of course, that this program, comprehensive though it is, will not solve the crime problem in the state of New York. The problem is so serious and complex that it cannot be dealt with in a single stroke. As Governor Lehman himself has said, "The enactment of this program, however, should not be considered by us as a cure-all. True, once adopted, it will assist our social agencies in our local communities in preventing juvenile delinquency; our police officials in detecting and apprehending criminals. My recommendations will make it harder to escape prosecution. Suggested changes in the penal law and in the code of criminal procedure will substantially assist district attorneys and



JUST A REMINDER

—Herblock in Hazleton (Pa.) Plain Speaker

judges in making the conviction of the offender speedy, definite, and certain. And that, after all, is the strongest deterrent to crime."

A Beginning

However effective these steps may be in dealing with the crime problem in New York state, or however effective the action of other states in the field of law enforcement, the surface will only have been scratched, for it is recognized on all hands that the problem goes deeper than to permit of immediate and certain solution. Much experimentation will have to be undertaken, and a trial-and-error attack will be made. It is encouraging, however, that many of the recommendations contained in Governor Lehman's message follow the lines of the best legal authorities in the country. Much of his program, for example, follows the suggestions of experts at the national crime conference held in Washington a year ago. While it was recognized at that time that there were certain fields in which the federal government could be useful, it was held that the chief burden would necessarily have to fall upon the shoulders of the states. It was urged that the states form compacts, similar to those recommended by Governor Lehman. It is evident that Mr. Lehman has shaped many of his proposals to the New York legislators along the lines drawn at that time.

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. If you were assigned the task of working out a program of crime elimination in your community, what recommendations would you make?

2. How do you account for the fact that there is more crime in the United States than in almost any other country?

3. Which of Governor Lehman's proposals do you think will be most effective in dealing with the New York crime problem?

4. Do you think that the people of England, as a whole, have benefited from the industrial revolution? Why?

5. What is meant by the "distressed areas" and what steps are being taken to help them?

6. Do you agree with Charles (see page 7) that the position of the two parties has been reversed since the early days of our history?

7. If the South had won the Civil War, what effects do you think it would have had upon the subsequent economic development of the country?

8. On the subject of technological unemployment, which do you think has the better of the argument, Colonel Knox or Congressman Amlie?

9. Do you think it would be a wise political move on the part of the President to make amendment of the Constitution an issue in the campaign?

10. What significance do you attach to the new policy of the Russian government with regard to production?

PRONUNCIATIONS: Miguel Gomez (mee-gail' go'mais), Mario Menocal (mah'reeo may-no-kah'l'), Fulgencio Batista (fool-hain'see-oh-tees'tah').



SCRAM

From a photograph by Valentine Sarra in "U. S. Camera—1935" (William Morrow and Company).